

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03  
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06  
ACDA-07 TRSE-00 /065 W  
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R 121550Z APR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY OSLO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3536  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI  
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK  
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
SECDEF WASHDC  
USMISSION NATO  
USNMR SHAPE  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 OSLO 01707

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (MOSCOW ADDED AS INFO ADDRESSEE)

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, ETRA, NO, SV, FI  
SUBJECT: NORWEGIANS ARE FIRM BUT CONCERNED OVER SECURITY POLICY  
EXCHANGE WITH FINNS

REFS: (A) HELSINKI 0660 (B) OSLO 1394 (C) OSLO 0954 (D) HELSINKI  
0554 (E) HELSINKI 0384 (F) 76 OSLO 4969 (G) STOCKHOLM 1498

1. SUMMARY: WITH THE MOST RECENT DISCUSSION AT THE NORDIC COUNCIL  
MEETING OF THE CONTENTIOUS SECURITY POLICY EXCHANGE BETWEEN FINNS AND  
NORWEGIANS, GON OFFICIALS HOPE THE MATTER WILL DIE DOWN. THEY DO  
NOT PLAN TO RAISE THE ISSUE THEMSELVES PUBLICLY. THE HEATED EXCHANGE  
OVER FRG PARTICIPATION IN MILITARY EXERCISES IN NORWAY HAS PUZZLED  
AND DISTURBED NORWEGIAN OFFICIALS. THEY FEEL IT REFLECTS IN PART  
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A LEGITIMATE FINNISH CONCERN FOR FINLAND'S SECURITY, AND IN PART  
PROBABLY A GROWING RECOGNITION AMONG FINNS OF THE INCREASINGLY  
LARGE ROLE THE FRG IS PLAYING IN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS. BUT OF PARTICULAR  
CONCERN TO THE GON, THE EXCHANGE, THEY BELIEVE, REVEALS A SURPRISING  
MISUNDERSTANDING BY THEIR NORDIC NEIGHBOR OF NORWAY'S SECURITY  
POLICY AND NORWAY'S DESIRE TO PRESERVE THE STRATEGIC BALANCE IN  
THE NORTH. AS A RESULT OF THE RECENT EXCHANGE THE GON HAS REAFFIRMED

THE MAIN LINES OF ITS SECURITY POLICY ON THE NORTH AND ITS INTENTION TO MOVE AHEAD WITH GERMAN PARTICIPATION IN ALLIANCE ACTIVITIES IN NORWAY. GON OFFICIALS EXPECT, HOWEVER, THEY HAVE NOT HEARD THE LAST OF THE MATTER. END SUMMARY.

2. WITH THE EXCHANGE BETWEEN NORWEGIAN AND FINNISH PARLIAMENTARIANS AT THE HELSINKI NORDIC COUNCIL MEETING MAR 31 (REF A) NORWEGIAN OFFICIALS HOPE THE RECENT EXCHANGE BETWEEN NORWEGIANS AND FINNS OVER SECURITY POLICY WILL DIE DOWN. THE DISPUTE WAS KICKED OFF BY A NORWEGIAN PRESS REPORT FEB 17 OF FINNISH PRESIDENT KEKKONEN'S CONFIDENTIAL TALKS WITH THE GON LAST SEPTEMBER DURING WHICH HE EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER FRG TROOPS EXERCISING WITH NATO FORCES IN NORWAY (REFS C & F). A FINNISH NEWSPAPER ACCOUNT ON MAR 17 OF KEKKONEN'S PRIVATE REMARKS FURTHER FUELED THE CHARGES WHICH WERE CARRIED INTO THE RECENT NORDIC COUNCIL MEETING.

3. THE WIDE RANGE OF GON LEADERS AND OFFICIALS WITH WHOM WE HAVE NOW DISCUSSED THE BILATERAL CLASH FEEL THAT LAST SEPTEMBER PRESIDENT KEKKONEN RAISED THE QUESTION OF FRG TROOP ACTIVITIES IN NORWAY OUT OF GENUINE CONCERN FOR ITS POTENTIAL IMPACT ON THE PROVISIONS OF THE 1948

FINNISH-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP AND ASSISTANCE TREATY. THEY BELIEVE THE FINNS RECOGNIZE BUT ARE NOT ENTIRELY COMFORTABLE WITH THE INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT ROLE WEST GERMANY IS PLAYING IN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS AND THE EFFECT THIS MIGHT HAVE ON FINNISH RELATIONS WITH THE USSR. ADDITIONALLY, THE NORWEGIANS BELIEVE THAT THE FINNS HAVE BEEN LEGITIMATELY CONCERNED OVER SOVIET PRESSURES TO RESTRICT THEIR NEUTRALITY, ESPECIALLY AFTER THE APPARENT NOARROWER DEFINITIONS OF FINLAND'S STATUS CONTAINED

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IN THE SOVIET BOOK BY BATENJEV AND KOMMISSOROB, -THIRY YEARS OF GOOD NEIGHBORSHIP," PUBLISHED LAST SUMMER.

4. THE NORWEGIANS ALSO CAN UNDERSTAND THAT THE FINNISH PRESIDENT WAS PEEVED BECAUSE HIS CONVERSATION IN NORWAY WAS PUBLISHED AND BECAUSE THE NORWEGIAN PRESS OPENLY SUGGESTED HE HAS ACTED AS A SPOKESMAN AT TIMES FOR THE USSR. THE NORWEGIANS TELL US THEY KNOW KEKKONEN ACTED ON HIS OWN WITHOUT CONSULTING HIS FOREIGN MINISTRY IN CRITICIZING NORWAY IN HIS PRIVATE TALK IN HELSINKI ON MARCH 9. THEY BELIEVE HE LATER PERMITTED HIS REMARKS TO BE PUBLISHED BECAUSE RELEASE AT THAT TIME COULD BE USEFUL PREEEMPTIVE DIPLOMACY FOR THE IMPENDING VISIT OF SOVIET PREMIER KOSYGIN. THE NORWEGIANS HAVE BEEN INFORMED BY THE FINNS THAT THE ISSUE WAS NOT RAISED BY THE SOVIETS AND WAS ONLY MENTIONED BY THE FINNS IN PASSING DURING THE KOSYGIN VISIT TALKS. THE NORWEGIANS ARE SATISFIED THEREFORE THAT PERSONAL PIQUE, RATHER THAN DELIBERATE POLICY, ACCOUNTS FOR KEKKONEN'S STATEMENTS IN MARCH.

5. THE INITIAL GON REACTION TO THE NORWEGIAN PRESS ACCOUNT OF KEKONNEN'S CONFIDENTIAL CONVERSATIONS IN OSLO LAST SEPTEMBER WAS EMBARRASSMENT. THEY THOUGHT THE LEAK MAY HAVE COME FROM NORWEGIAN SOURCES. BUT THEY SOON CONVINCED THEMSELVES THE LEAK OCCURRED ELSEWHERE. GON OFFICIALS SPECULATE THAT THE SWEDES, WHO WERE CONFIDENTIALLY INFORMED OF THE SEPTEMBER TALKS, MAY HAVE LEAKED THE STORY; THOUGH THEY GIVE NO REASON WHY SWEDISH INTERESTS ARE SERVED BY THE LEAK, AND WE NOTE STOCKHOLM'S ASSESSMENT THAT INDEED SWEDISH INTERESTS ARE PRESUMABLY NOT ADVANCED BY THE PUBLIC DISCUSSION SET OFF BY THE LEAK (STOCKHOLM 1542).

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SECDEF WASHDC  
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USNMR SHAPE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 OSLO 1707

6. THIS INITIAL GON MORITIFICATION WAS FOLLOWED BY PUZZLEMENT AND CONCERN. THERE WAS PUZZLEMENT OVER WHY THE FINNISH PRESS AND PRESIDENT PERSISTED IN FUELING AN ISSUE WHICH SEEMED ONLY TO DISTURB RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO NORDIC NATIONS. THERE WAS CONCERN OVER THE INTENSITY OF FEELING AND APPARENT MISUNDERSTANDING AND SUSPICION IN FINLAND ABOUT NORWAY'S SECURITY POLICY.

7. WHAT DISTURBES GON OFFICIALS MOST ABOUT THE ENTIRE AFFAIR IS THE UNEXPECTED EMOTIONAL TONE OF THE CRITICISMS OF NORWAY FROM FINLAND, WHICH THEY BELIEVE CANNOT HELP UNDERSTANDING

AND COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO NORDIC COUNTRIES. THE GON IS ADDITIONALLY SURPRISED AND DISTURBED BY WHAT IT REGARDS TO BE MISUNDERSTANDING NOT ONLY BY THE FINNISH PRESS, BUT ALSO BY A NUMBER OF FINNISH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ABOUT NORWAY'S DEFENSE POLICY, AND ESPECIALLY ABOUT THE POLICY RESTRAINTS NORWAY HAS TAKEN UPON ITSELF UNILATERALLY, SUCH AS NO FOREIGN TROOPS OR NUCLEAR

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WEAPONS IN NORWAY DURING PEACETIME AND RESTRICTIONS ON ALLIANCE EXERCISES IN NORTH NORWAY.

8. THE NORWEGIANS FEEL THAT CURRENT COMMENTARY FROM THE FINNS DOES NOT SEEM TO APPRECIATE THAT NORWEGIAN POLICY INCLUDES THESE RESTRAINTS AND IS DESIGNED TO BE NON-PROVOCATIVE TO THE USSR AND TO PRESERVE THE SECURITY BALANCE IN SCANDINAVIA. THIS SO-CALLED NORDIC BALANCE SERVES TO PROTECT FINLAND AS WELL, THEY POINT OUT. MFA AND MOD OFFICIALS HAVE TOLD US IT IS CLEAR NORWAY MUST NOW MAKE A GREATER EFFORT IN FINLAND TO EXPLAIN NORWAY'S FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICIES.

9. TO DEAL WITH THE CURRENT FLAP WITH FINLAND THE GON HAS DECIDED TO COOL IT AND TO AVOID RAISING THE MATTER PUBLICLY IN HOPES THAT THE HEAT WILL DISSIPATE AND THE ISSUE WILL FADE AWAY. WE ARE TOLD THAT PRIME MINISTER NORDLI WROTE PRIVATELY TO PRESIDENT KEKONNEN APOLOGIZING FOR THE PRESS LEAK OF THEIR TALKS. HE DISCUSSED THE MATTER PRIVATELY WITH THE FINNISH PRESIDENT ON MARCH 30 WHILE VISITING HELSINKI FOR THE NORDIC COUNCIL MEETING. FOREIGN MINISTER FRYDENLUND LATER, ON APRIL 1, SPOKE TO THE INTER-NORDIC SOCIETY FORENINGEN NORDEN IN HELSINKI. IN A SPEECH DESIGNED INITIALLY TO OUTLINE OIL'S IMPACT ON NORWAY'S FOREIGN POLICY, HE INCLUDED A FULL EXPLANATION OF NORWAY'S SECURITY POLICY IN THE NORTH POINTING TO ITS OBJECTIVES OF REDUCING OF TENSIONS AND MAINTAINING A BALANCE THERE. MFA OFFICIALS SAY THE GON NOW WANTS TO TURN OFF DISUCSSION OF THE CONTENTIOUS ISSUE WITH FINLAND ALTOGETHER.

10. AT THE SAME TIME GON OFFICIALS HAVE PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY REPEATED DENIALS THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS UNDER PRESSURE TO TOUGHEN ITS SECURITY STANCE, AS THE FINNS HAVE CHARGED. THE OFFICIALS HAVE ALSO REAFFIRMED THE MAIN LINES OF NORWAY'S SECURITY POLICY AND MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE NORMALIZING OF RELATIONS WITH THE FRG IN THE MILITARY FIELD WILL CONTINUE AS PLANNED. NORDLI'S STATEMENT TO THAT EFFECT ON MARCH 19 (REF B), WAS ECHOED BY FRYDENLUND IN HIS HELSINKI TALK AND RESTATED BY DEFENSE MINISTER HANSEN APRIL 1 IN A PRESS CONFERENCE CONCLUDING FRG DEFENSE

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MINISTER LEBER'S VISIT TO NORWAY.

11. THUS, WHILE THE MAIN IMMEDIATE RESULT IN NORWAY OF THE CURRENT EXCHANGE WITH FINLAND HAS BEEN TO BRING THE NORWEGIANS TO REAFFIRM PUBLICLY THEIR SECURITY POLICY AND INTENTION TO INCLUDE THE FRG IN ALLIANCE EXERCISES IN NORWAY, THE FRACAS HAS RAISED SOME NEW CONCERNS ABOUT THE FRG CONTACTS IN THE MILITARY FIELD. ONE KEY MFA OFFICIAL SAID HE HAD THE FEELING THE ENTIRE AFFAIR MIGHT TEND TO MAKE SOME OF NORWAY'S POLITICAL LEADERS MORE CAUTIOUS WHEN THEY CONSIDER THE NEXT DECISIONS ON REGULARIZING THEIR RELATIONS WITH GERMANY, THOUGH HE DID NOT THINK THE LEADERS WOULD CHANGE THE ESTABLISHED POLICY. THE EXCHANGE HAS ALSO ALERTED THE GON TO THE APPARENT MISUNDERSTANDINGS THEIR SECURITY POLICY WITHIN FINNISH PUBLIC AND GOVERNMENTAL CIRCLES AND REVEALED AN UNEXPECTED EMOTIONAL CONTENT TO CRITICISM OF NORWAY FROM THE FINNS. ALL OF THIS SUGGESTS THAT, LIKE THE KEKKONEN PROPOSAL FOR A NORDIC NUCLEAR FREE ZONE, THE SECURITY POLICY ISSUE IS SENSITIVE AND MAY VERY WELL COME UP AGAIN. WE NOTE, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT PRAVDA HAS PICKED UP KEKKONEN'S ACCUSATIONS AGAINST NORWEGIAN SECURITY POLICY (APRIL 8), A FACT WHICH WILL SURELY FEED SUSPICIONS AMONG SOME CIRCLES IN OSLO THAT KEKKONEN WAS MOSCOW'S POINT MAN ON THE ISSUE ALL ALONG, AND WHICH COULD THEREFORE REOPEN THE ENTIRE ISSUE ONCE MORE.

ANDERS

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## Message Attributes

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